

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C. E. BOSWORTH

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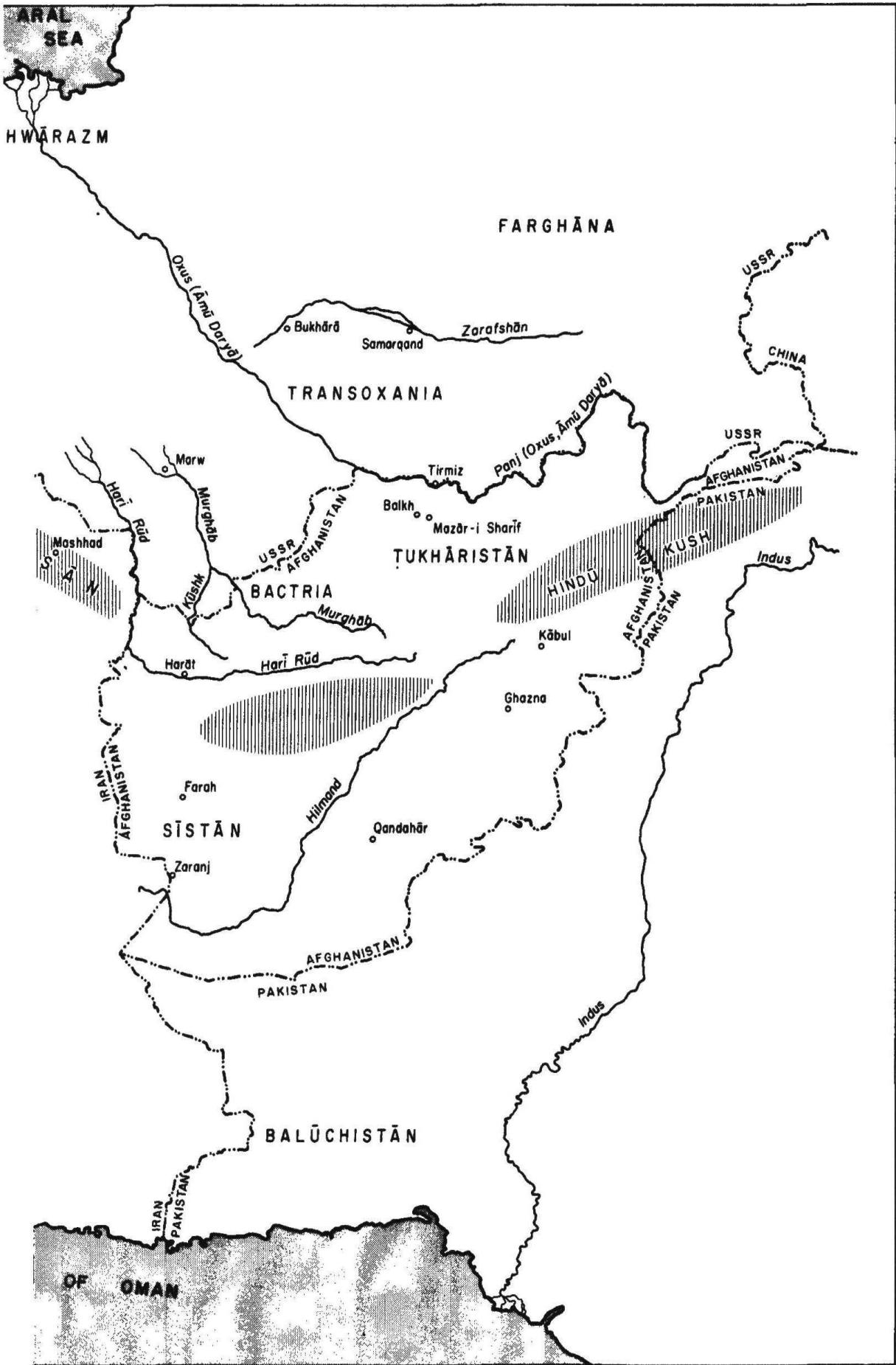
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>AI</i>	<i>Athār-é Irān</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
<i>AN</i>	<i>Akademia Nauk</i>
<i>ANVA</i>	<i>Avhandlinger utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademii, Oslo</i>
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>AOHung</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
<i>AOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>BGA</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
<i>BSO[A]S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
<i>EI¹</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
<i>EI²</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
<i>EW</i>	<i>East and West</i>
<i>Farhang</i>	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
<i>GAL</i>	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
<i>GIPh</i>	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
<i>GJ</i>	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
<i>GMS</i>	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
<i>Hor</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>IIJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
<i>IQ</i>	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
<i>Iran, JBIPS</i>	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
<i>Isl.</i>	<i>Der Islam</i>
<i>IUTAKÈ</i>	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JRCAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
<i>JSFOu</i>	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>MO</i>	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
<i>NGWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvitenskap</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>OON</i>	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
<i>PRGS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
<i>PW</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
<i>RMM</i>	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
<i>SA</i>	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologija</i>
<i>SBAW Berlin</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>SBWAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>SB Bayr. AW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>Soch.</i>	V. V. Bartol'd, <i>Sochineniya</i> , Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.
<i>SON</i>	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
<i>Survey of Persian Art</i>	A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. <i>A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present</i> . 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZII</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
<i>ZVORAO</i>	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>







EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartold (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirechyé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Ali Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works* (*Sochinenia*) that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarcand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliots. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898–1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gar-dīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizārī's *Rawdāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,¹ that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

The *Historical Geography of Iran* is essentially an analytical and

¹ "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānsahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Timūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khzraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,² and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

² My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: <<...>>. The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [...] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH
December 1981

**AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN**

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.¹ The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.² Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

¹ (F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)

² For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniiakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.³ These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,⁴ as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris.*

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."⁵ Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

³ «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vuedemie*, p. 288.»

⁴ In the *Kitâb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18², Sughd was called *Irân al-A'lâ*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

⁵ «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

INTRODUCTION

basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotha-Slavic Relations"]⁶—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,⁷ and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistān, to the Hari Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Hari Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."⁸ According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).⁹

⁶ F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedii do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (Sbornik ORIAS = *Otdelenie russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

⁷ «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'jakonov, *Istoriia Mid'a*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Skifo-europeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednayaia Azia i Drevniy Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

⁸ *Voyages*, I, 269.

⁹ For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.

CHAPTER X

Iṣfahān, Kāshān, and Qum

THE center of Fārs is connected by several roads with the large towns of northern Persia. In the Middle Ages, the road from Shīrāz to Iṣfahān did not pass through Iṣṭakhr, as it does now; the shorter route through the town of Māyīn was considered the main road. This road joined, it would seem, the present-day one near the town of Yazdīkhwāst, situated on a cliff in the middle of a valley; this town, despite its ancient name, is not mentioned in the tenth-century itineraries. It is the fourteenth-century itinerary by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi Qazwīnī that mentions the chief towns along this route, Qūmish and Yazdīkhwāst;¹ the route from Yazdīkhwāst to Shīrāz through Māyīn was called the “summer [route]” (*rāh-i tābis-tāni*) and the present-day detour the “winter [route]” (*rāh-i zimis-tāni*).²

The town of Iṣfahān is mentioned by the classical geographers as ‘Ασπαδάνα, but it had no importance in those days.³ In Sāsānid times, there was here the town of Jay.⁴ Its founding was attributed to Alexander of Macedonia, and the name of this town is frequently encountered even on the coins of the Arab period. There exists a work about Iṣfahān by the fourteenth-century historian Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī; its name is *Ta’rīkh ahwāl Isfahān*; the English orientalist E. G. Browne has analyzed this work in a special study.⁵

¹ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. 171, fol. 245a [ed. Le Strange, p. 185, tr. *idem*, p. 176].

² According to Le Strange (*The Lands*, p. 283), Yazdīkhwāst is mentioned for the first time in the *Fārs-nāma*; in Maqdisī, pp. 437, 458, in the form Ikkās. The border between Fārs and Iṣfahān now passed to the north of Yazdīkhwāst (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 331); for the external appearance of Yazdīkhwāst, see *ibid.*, p. 330.

³ Cf. M.D’iakonov, *Ocherk*, pp. 288, 407.

⁴ There is also a settlement called Jay one farsakh from Tehran, on the road from Karaj (Berezin, *Puteshestvie*, pt. 2, p. 141). «For the etymology of the name Jay, Old Iranian *Gaba-, transmitted in Greek as Γάβοι, Middle Persian Gay, Parthian Gaß, see Henning, “Gabae,” *Asia Major*, n.s., II (1952), p. 144.»

⁵ «“Account of a Rare Manuscript History of Isfahan,” *JRAS* (1901), pp. 411-46, 661-704. For the Arabic original of this work see Barthold, *Iran. Soch.* VII, 288; for the editions of the Arabic text and Persian translation see Spuler, *Iran in früh-*

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According to this source,⁶ the town of Jay of the Sāsānid period was built on the model of all Sāsānid towns with four gates.⁷ Among these was the "Gate of the Jews," Darvāza-i Juhūdān; obviously, a Jewish colony had sprung up here, and it subsequently gave the principal part of the city the name of Yahūdiyya.⁸ In the tenth century, the old town was known by the name of Shahristān and was inferior to Yahūdiyya in size and population;⁹ here the Jews were considered, just as in other places, to be descendants of Nebuchadnezzar's captives.¹⁰ The distance between Shahristān and Yahūdiyya was two miles, that is, about four versts. There was near Shahristān a large bridge across the Zāyinda Rūd.¹¹ Shahristān is

islamischer Zeit, p. 554.)] This is the *Ta'rikh Isfahān* of al-Mufaddal b. Sa'd al-Māfarrukhī (wrote 421/1030); see on the Arabic original, Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 571, and on the Persian translation written ca. 729/1329 by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥusaynī 'Alawī, Storey, *Persian Literature*, 349, and Storey-Bregel', II, 1,011-12. There also exists the Arabic biography of the scholars and other prominent figures of Isfahān by Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad al-Isfahānī (d. 430/1038), the *Dhukr akhbār Isfahān*, ed. S. Dederling (Leiden, 1931), see J. Pedersen, *EI²*, s.v., and below, n. 43.]

⁶ Browne, "Account," pp. 417-18.

⁷ Description of Jay according to Ibn Rusta, pp. 160 ff.: four gates, half a farsakh in circuit (6,000 *dhirā*'s); the area 2,000 *jarībs* = 1.28 square versts. The distances between the gates and towers, according to Ibn Rusta:

Bāb Khūr (SE) to Bāb al-Yahūdiyya (SW) – 1,100 *dhirā*'s, 18 towers

Bāb al-Yahūdiyya (SW) to Bāb Tīra (NW) – 1,200 *dhirā*'s, 23 towers

Bāb Tīra (NW) to Bāb Isfīj (NE) – 1,300 *dhirā*'s, 24 towers

Bāb Isfīj (NE) to Bāb Khūr (SE) – 2,400 *dhirā*'s, 35 towers

Sum total: 6,000 *dhirā*'s, 100 towers. The diameter was 320 *qaṣabas* or 1,920 *dhirā*'s. According to Browne, "Account," p. 418, the village of Ādhār-Shāpūrān is "by the gate of the Jews"; Firūz built here a palace with an orchard and a fire temple. For Isfahān, see Hamza Isfahānī, *Ta'rikh sinī mulūk al-ard*, I, 30 (about Ṭahmūrāth); pp. 35, 56 (about the order of Firūz son of Yazdagird to destroy the Jews of Isfahān). Incorrect observations regarding Jay and Yahūdiyya in Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 204. (Cf. Barthold, *ZVORAO*, XVII, 0104, *Soch.* III, 278.)

⁸ In the Persian translation of İştakhrī, instead of Yahūdiyya we always find Jahūdistān (İştakhrī, p. 198 note t).

⁹ According to *idem*, p. 199, Yahūdiyya was more than twice as large as Shahristān. According to Ibn Rusta, p. 162, there was in Shahristān an ancient fortress called, as in Hamadān, al-Sārūq. Cf. Ḥamza Isfahānī, I, 197; Birūnī, Āthār, ed. Sachau, p. 24. Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 275, concerning the *dihqāns* and *al-luyaba* (?). About the *rustāq Bara'ān*, the inhabitants there are "cultivators [landlords/peasants], nobody else mingles with them." Error in Sykes, *A History of Persia*, II, 133, regarding the word *dihqān* as "cultivator." (Cf. Barthold, "K voprosu o feodalizme v Irane," pp. 462 ff.)

¹⁰ Maqdisi, p. 388. (For the history of the Jewish community of Isfahān, see W. J. Fischel, "Isfahan. The Story of a Jewish Community in Persia," *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), pp. 111-28.)

¹¹ Maqdisi, p. 389. In Ibn Rusta, p. 161 line 21, it is Zarrīn-rūd.

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mentioned still by Chardin as a large town east of Iṣfahān with many ruins of ancient buildings.¹² According to Mustawfi, Shahristān was built by Alexander the Great and renewed under the Sāsānids.¹³ From among the Arab geographers, the most detailed description of Jay, or Shahristān, is given by Ibn Rusta, himself a native of this town.¹⁴ Maqdisi¹⁵ describes among the individual buildings of Yahūdiyya the Friday mosque with its round columns and a minaret seventy arshins tall to the south of it;¹⁶ this whole building was made of clay. According to the historian of Iṣfahān Ḥusayn b. Muhammad al-‘Alawī, the Friday mosque was built by the Arabs of the Banū Tamīm tribe, and it was enlarged under the caliph Muqtadir in the tenth century; a library whose catalog alone consisted of three volumes later belonged to it.¹⁷ This Friday mosque is still shown today; although it has retained its name, "Friday mosque" (*masjid-i jum'a*), after the construction of the mosque of Shāh ‘Abbās I it lost its religious primacy, and as a result of the numerous reconstructions to which it was subjected it presents no architectural interest.

The plain in which Iṣfahān lies is surrounded by mountains on all sides (except on the southeast, where it is contiguous with the steppe). It is remarkable for its warm climate and plentiful water supply. According to Mustawfi, every variety of crop can grow here except the pomegranate, but even this points to the beneficial aspects of its climatic conditions, since pomegranate trees grow only in localities with an unhealthy climate.¹⁸ The soil needs abundant fertilizing, for which pigeon manure is collected from special towers,^a and, in addition, town refuse is used. The fields are irrigated from the small river of the Zāyinda Rūd and its canals, which are

¹² *Voyages en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* (Amsterdam, 1735), II, 93-94.

¹³ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extracts in Schefer's ed., p. 170 [ed. Le Strange, p. 50, tr. *idem*, p. 57].

¹⁴ Ibn Rusta, pp. 160-63. Cf. Jackson's opinion, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 270, regarding the possibility that Julfa lies on the site of Jay.

¹⁵ Maqdisi, pp. 388-89.

¹⁶ According to *idem*, seventy ells long, but in Browne, "Account," p. 438, the minarets are 100 *gaz* high.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 437-38. For the Friday mosque of Jay, see Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), p. 181.

¹⁸ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extracts in Schefer's ed., p. 168 [ed. Le Strange, pp. 48-49, tr. *idem*, p. 55].

^a See E. Beazley, "The Pigeon Towers of Isfahan," *Iran, JBIPS*, IV (1966), 105-109, and *idem*, "Some Vernacular Buildings of the Iranian Plateau," *JBIPS*, XV (1977), pp. 101-102.

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here called *madi*; there is also well water. The river flows out of the Zarda Kūh mountains and to the southeast of Işfahān it disappears in salt marshes; local inhabitants have retained to this day the belief that it surfaces again in Kirmān and flows into the sea.¹⁹ Despite the glorification of the Zāyinda Rūd by the poets of Işfahān, its water was at the end of the tenth century, according to Maqdisī, so polluted with the refuse of the town that people stopped using it for drinking.^b

In the tenth century, Işfahān was, after Ray, the most important town between Arab Iraq and Khurāsān;²⁰ some of the Buwayhid rulers chose it as their capital. After the Buwayhids several Saljuq sultans lived in Işfahān; one of them, Muḥammad, who died in 1118, was buried here in the madrasa that he had built. This madrasa still existed in the fourteenth century, and at the threshold of the building, just as at the doorstep of Maḥmūd's mosque in Ghazna, lay the stone sculpture of an Indian idol seized by the Muslims during one of their campaigns.²¹ Thanks to its favorable

¹⁹ Tumanskii, *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 54.

^b On the use of the Zāyanda-Rūd for irrigation, see Lambton, "The Regulation of the Waters of the Zāyande Rūd," BSOS, IX (1937-1939), 663-73; *idem*, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, index; *idem*, *The Persian Land Reform 1962-1966* (London, 1969), index.

²⁰ Iştakhri, p. 199. Cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (he was in Işfahān in 1052), *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), p. 249: "In the whole Persian-speaking area I have seen no city better, more complete, or more populous and built up than Işfahān." Also Maqdisī, p. 389: the river cut through the city; twelve gates. See also the *Ta'rikh-i ahwāl-i Iṣfahān* (Browne, "Account," p. 676) about the construction of the town walls under 'Alā' al-Dawla; the length was 15,000 paces (*ibid.*, p. 33). Information about Işfahān in the time of the 'Abbāsids in Ṭabarī: about the taking of the town by Qaḥṭaba (III, 6-7); about the change of the governor under Mahdi (III, 500); about the participation in the rebellion of the Khurramiya in 218/833 (III, 1,165); about the march of Waṣif al-Turki against the Kurds in 231/845-6 (III, 1,351); about the seizure of Waṣif's possessions by Mutawakkil in 247/861 (III, 1,462); about the designation as governor, in 281/894, of Abū Dulaf's grandson (III, 2,141); events of 283/896 and 284/897 (III, 2,152, 2,155, 2,156, 2,161); about the castle (*qal'a*) of the Abū Dulafids at al-Dh.r (III, 2,180; also a fortress belonging to the family of Abū Dulaf in Dh.r); about the uprising of the Kurds (III, 1,278 ff.).

There is a description of Işfahān in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), pp. 246-48. On the way to Işfahān, Nāṣir-i Khusraw passed through Khāndajān (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 394: Khān Lanjān); Khāndajān as Firdawsi's hiding place, error in Schefer (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer [Paris, 1881] Appendix IV, p. 298) and Le Strange (*The Lands*, p. 207 n. 1). Işfahān under the Saljuqs: Bundarī, pp. 82, 87, 98. Işfahān and the Ismā'ilis; Shāhdiz, *ibid.*, pp. 90 ff.; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 264. [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. p. 60, #62.]

²¹ Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-qulub*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 168 [ed. Le Strange, p. 49, tr. *idem*, p. 56].

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position, the town could rapidly recover not only from the Mongol invasion^c but also from the more terrible devastation by Tīmūr in 1387. Iṣfahān, which at that time belonged, like Shirāz and Yazd, to the Muzaffarid dynasty, submitted to Tīmūr and agreed to pay a tribute, but in consequence of the exactions by those charged with the collection, a popular uprising took place. An order was then issued to launch a massacre of the population; up to 70,000 heads were harvested, the sources tell us,²² with which towers were erected in various places.²³ Despite this, Iṣfahān was still in Tīmūr's time chosen as the residence for one of his grandsons, Rustam, when he was allotted his appanage. In the fourteenth century, the inhabitants were not yet mostly Shi'is as they are now, but Shāfi'i Sunnis. At the end of the tenth century, the people of Iṣfahān, according to Maqdisī,²⁴ were even filled with Sunnī fanaticism, placing Mu'āwiya on a par with the [first] four caliphs and calling all five of them "messengers," *mursalūn*.

Iṣfahān reached the peak of its glory under the Ṣafawids, when the most famous ruler of this dynasty, Shāh 'Abbās the Great (1587-1628) chose it as his capital. He developed it into an enormous city, up to thirty-five versts in circumference,²⁵ although there were merely twelve gates, just as in the tenth century; only ten of these

^c Boyle, "The Capture of Isfahan by the Mongols," *La Persia nel medievo: Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema* (Rome, 1971), pp. 331-36; J. E. Woods, "A Note on the Mongol Capture of Iṣfahān," *JNES*, XXXVI (1977), 49-52.

²² Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, I, 434; 'Abd al-Razzāq, ms., fol. 86b.

²³ Qal'a-yi Tabarak as the name of the citadel of Iṣfahān under Tīmūr (Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 205). Cf. Qal'a-yi Tabarruk, Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1811, VII, 483.

²⁴ Maqdisī, p. 399. For the struggle between the Ḥanafis and Shāfi'is in Iṣfahān, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 296 line 7; cf. Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, X, 299 ff.

²⁵ Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extracts in Schefer's ed., p. 167 [ed. Le Strange, p. 48, tr. *idem*, p. 55]: 21,000 paces (idea of the *shahrīstān* as the *shahr-i nau-i Iṣfahān*. According to Browne, "Account," p. 433: 15,000 paces. According to Olearius («who was in Iṣfahān in August 1637»), the city together with the suburbs measured eight English miles in circuit. According to Raphael du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660* . . . , ed. Schefer (Paris, 1890), p. 35, the diameter of Isfahan was three-quarters of the diameter of Paris («du Mans lived in Iṣfahān between 1656 and 1696»). According to Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1735, II, 1 and *Voyages*, ed. 1811, VII, 273, it measured twelve leagues, or twenty-four miles, in circuit, but the circumference of the walls was 2,000 paces in all (*ibid.*, II, 3; VII, 284; Chardin was in Iṣfahān in 1666 and in 1671-1674). According to G. A. Olivier (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse fait par ordre du gouvernement, pendant les six premières années de la République* [Paris, 1807]; *Puteshestvua; Opisanie*), it measured less than two miles in diameter (Olivier was in Iṣfahān in 1788). Today, according to Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 16, it measures two miles.

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were open, according to Tavernier,²⁶ or eight, according to Chardin.²⁷

The center of the city was—and still is—the so-called “Square of the Shah,” Maydān-i Shāh, where the imperial palace, the principal mosque, and the main bazaars were located.²⁸ Like other large squares in Persian capitals, it was surrounded by a number of constructions with two-storied arcades; shops were located on the lower level.²⁹ In front of the buildings there was a continuous avenue of trees and a canal; both these features later fell into decay because of neglect, and were only partly restored in the nineteenth century. The Friday mosque, built by 'Abbās in 1612-1613,³⁰ is located at the southern end of the square; in the eighteenth century it was restored several times. At the northern end was the portico (*naqqāra khāna*), whose function is evident from its name; it issues into the large bazaar (*qaysariyya*).³¹ On the eastern side is the mosque of Luṭf Allāh;³² in the center of the square, a pole with an apple—with a golden cup at its tip on festive occasions—used to stand; it functioned as a target for shooting practice. Later there was a gibbet

²⁶ Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, pt. 1, p. 435.

²⁷ Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1735, II, 5.

²⁸ In Iskandar Munshī, it is *maydān-i naqsh-i jahān*. It is unclear what was the *naqsh-i jahān-i İsfahān* in Timūr's time; for example, Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, I, 621. According to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 266, the square is over a quarter of a mile long (from north to south) and about an eighth of a mile from west to east (according to Olearius, the length was 700 paces, the width 250; according to della Valle, 690 and 230, and according to Chardin, 440 and 160). According to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 266, the maydān-i Shāh is mentioned as early as Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma*, reference to the edition of J. A. Vullers and S. Landauer (Leiden, 1877-1884), II, 746, and J. Mohl's translation (Paris, 1838-1878), II, 423, but there we only find the verse about Kay Khusraw:

*sarāsar hama shahr ādhīn ba-bast
bayārast maydān wa khūd bar nashast*
He adorned the whole city from end to end,
he decorated the square and seated himself on the throne.

²⁹ Thus according to the description by Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, ed. 1843, I, 454.

³⁰ According to Iskandar Munshī, ms., fol. 240b ff., in 1611 [ed. Tehran, pp. 831-32, tr. Savory, pp. 1038-39].

³¹ Four bazaars of İsfahān; see Iskander Munshī's narrative [(ed. Tehran, 1313-14/1895-7, I, 591), tr. Savory, pp. 1037-38], about the events of 1611: “Naqsh-i Jahān and the Qayṣariyya and the caravanserais and the coffee-houses.” See the illustrations in Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 332 (*masjid-i Shāh*); Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 266, 270. [Ali Bakhtiar, “The Royal Bazaar of Isfahan,” *Iranian Studies*, VII (1974), 320-47; H. Gaube and E. Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan* (Wiesbaden, 1978).]

³² Shaykh Luṭf Allāh, a contemporary of Shāh 'Abbās, d. in 1623, see Iskandar Munshī, ms. fol. 333b [ed. Tehran, pp. 1007-1008, tr. Savory, pp. 1229-30].

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here. Two marble columns also used to stand on the square; they functioned as base-line marks for the equestrian arena during the game of polo (*chawgān*), once very popular but forgotten today. The imperial palace issued into the southwestern side of the square with its magnificent portico of the 'Alī-kapu, which had twelve wooden pillars and a marble[-lined] pool in the center; here the shāh received ambassadors on the day of the *Nawrūz* holiday. The main facade of the palace was the portico called the Chihil Sutūn, which issued into the garden and was supported, despite its name, only by twenty wooden pillars with stone carvings of lions at their bases; the walls of the portico were covered with marble and glass. The palace consisted of several large halls, including one with small paintings that is preserved to this day. Six large scenes depict events from the lives of the shāhs: Ismā'il (two paintings), Tahmāsp, 'Abbās the Great, and Nādir; inserted between two of them is a portrait of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. During the reign of Shāh Husayn (1694-1722), the portico suffered from fire and was restored. On the western side of the palace was the garden of Hasht-bihisht; that was where the avenue of Chārbāgh (Chahār bāgh) started; it continued southward to the Zāyinda Rūd and beyond, but only pitiful remnants of it exist today. Near this avenue was the madrasa of Shāh Husayn, one of the finest buildings of Iṣfahān.³³ The citadel of the city is located to the southeast of the Square of the Shāh. In the city itself there was reported to stand in Ṣafawid times the tower called Kalla Minār, no longer extant.³⁴ It was built with skulls of the animals killed by the sovereign while hunting, although some travelers maintained that among its bones were human ones.³⁵

Chārbāgh avenue goes to the bridge of Allāh Werdi Khān, named after one of the generals of Shāh 'Abbās the Great and leading to the suburb of Julfā, where, as is well known, the Armenians forcibly

³³ More exactly, the madrasa of Shāh Husayn's mother; a note about it in J. A. de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie (de 1855 à 1858)* (Paris, 1905), pp. 196 ff. The architect was from Tabriz; the edifice is intact; according to Jackson (*Persia Past and Present*, p. 269), there are signs of ruin. [The caravanserai attached to the Madrasa-yi Mādar-i Shāh was converted in the 1960s into a fine hotel, the Shah Abbas.]

³⁴ The tower was sixty feet high.

³⁵ Curzon, *Persia*, II, 23. [The architecture of Iṣfahān has, not surprisingly, been much described. In addition to the references given in note 43 below, consult especially the rich bibliography to J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI²*, art. "Iṣfahān. 2. Monuments," and Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānid Period*, index. See further Matheson, *Persia, an Archaeological Guide*, pp. 179-85; W. Blunt, *Isfahan, Pearl of Persia* (London, 1966); E. Galdieri, "Les palais d'Iṣfahan," *Iranian Studies*, VII (1974), 380-405; *Isfahan, City of Light*, Exhibition Catalogue (London, 1976).]

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transferred by 'Abbās lived. When the water was at low level, it was possible to ford the river on a separate covered causeway under the arches of the bridge.³⁶ The avenue ended in the south in the orchard of Hazār-Jarīb, which has since disappeared without trace. From among all the suburbs of the city, Julfā suffered the most during the Afghan invasion of 1722; furthermore, many Armenians emigrated from Persia after Nādir Shāh's death. At the time of Chardin's visit, there were some 30,000 inhabitants in Julfā; Curzon was told that the total population of the suburb amounted to 2,500 souls, of whom 80 percent were Armenians.³⁷

Other bridges downstream from the bridge of Allāh Verdi Khan lead to other suburbs; the most remarkable among them is the magnificent Pul-i Khwājū or Pul-i Bābā-Rukn, named after the dervish Rukn al-Dīn; it leads to a suburb that used to be called Gabristān and was inhabited by the *gabrs* [Zoroastrians],³⁸ but that received in the seventeenth century, when Shāh 'Abbās II (1642-1667) built a palace for himself here, the name Sa'ādatābād. The name of the palace itself is Haft-Dast; there is in it the portico called Āyina-khāna, representing an imitation of the portico of Chihil Sutūn.³⁹ Fath 'Alī Shāh died in this palace in 1834; after his death it fell into neglect.

In the area around İsfahān one can observe the so-called "moving minarets," *manār-i junbān*, whose movement is usually explained as a miracle wrought by the shaykh buried here; the towers are located some eight versts to the west of the town in the settlement of Guladān. Not far from there, on a cliff, are the ruins of Ātashgāh.⁴⁰ Mustawfī mentions Ātashgāh in connection with a fortress built by the mythical third king of Persia, Tahmūrāth; the temple of the fire worshipers would have been built there by the second mythical

³⁶ A picture of the bridge is in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 263.

³⁷ Curzon, *Persia*, II, 53. The erroneous opinion that Julfa = Jay is in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 270 and Justi, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 485. [J. Carswell, *New Julfa, the Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* (London, 1968); *idem*, *EP² Suppl.*, art. "Djulfā," noting the population of Julfa in ca. 1975 as less than 500 families; V. Gregorian, "Minorities of Isfahan: the Armenian Community of Isfahan 1587-1722," *Iranian Studies*, VII (1974), 652-80.]

³⁸ Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 274, about the *gabrs* at the time of his visit to İsfahān: there were only six of them, and out of these only three were permanent residents, the others being from Yazd.

³⁹ A picture *ibid.*, p. 270.

⁴⁰ A picture *ibid.*, p. 254. For this monument, see also the bibliography in Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, p. 198. [M. Siroux, "Atesh-gâh d'Ispahân," *Iranica antiqua*, V (1965), 39-82.]

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king, Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, who is identified with Artaxerxes I (Ardashir-i Darāz-dast).⁴¹ Ibn Rusta says the same thing about the origin of the temple; in his time the sacred fire was still burning.⁴² Finally, to the south of İsfahān, at the foot of the mountain Kūh-i Şūfa, was Farahābād, Shāh Husayn's country palace famous for its orchards; it was destroyed in the eighteenth century by the Afghans. On the mountain itself was the summer palace of Husayn's predecessor Shāh Sulaymān (1667-1694), called Takht-i Sulaymān.⁴³

The population of İsfahān in Ṣafawid times, by the most conservative estimates, reached 500,000 souls; except for the central square and several bazaars, however, the city resembled an enormous village, according to the impression it made on the traveler Tavernier.⁴⁴ Today only pitiful remains of İsfahān's former grandeur are preserved; an insignificant part of the area of the former city is inhabited, and this area is not surrounded by a wall but merges with villages and orchards. According to Tumanskii, "The houses are mostly built from unfired, square bricks; the streets are narrow and evil-smelling because of the repulsive habit of making openings on the streets into which latrines are emptied and of covering them with only a slab and sometimes leaving them uncovered altogether."⁴⁵ As in the case of other large towns of Persia, estimates of the population of İsfahān vary, but none exceed 90,000.^d

⁴¹ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's edition, p. 170 [ed. Le Strange, p. 50, tr. *idem*, p. 57].

⁴² Ibn Rusta, p. 153. Cf. Hamza İsfahāni, I, 30, for Ṭahmūrath and İsfahān.

⁴³ «For the history of İsfahān and its monuments, see also Cl. Huart, *EI*¹, art. "İsfahān"; *Survey of Persian Art*, II and V; Abū Nu'aym, *Akhbār İsfahān*, ed. S. Dederling (Leiden, 1931-1934); 'Alī b. Muḥammad İsfahāni, *al-İsfahān* (İsfahān, 1343/1924); Husayn Nūr Şadıqī, *İsfahān*, (Tehran, 1316/1937); Lutf Allāh Hunarfar, *Ganjīna-yi āthār-i ta'rīkhi-yi İsfahān* (İsfahān, 1344/1965); 'Azīz Hatami, *İsfahan* (Tehran, 1962); A.K.S. Lambton and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*², art. "İsfahān."» [In addition to the Zoroastrian presence in the early Islamic period, the Ismā'īlis were active in the İsfahān countryside during Saljuq times, having seized various strongholds that threatened the town, including Shāh Diz, possibly on the top of the Kūh-i Şūfa, and Khān Lanjān to the south of the town; see on this last, S. M. Stern *et al.* "The Fortress of Khān Lanjān," *Iran, JBIPS*, IX (1971), 45-57, and for the former, the work cited by Stern, C. O. Minasian, *Shāh Diz of Ismā'īlī Fame* (London, 1971). See also relevant articles in the *Studies on Isfahan: Proceedings of the Isfahan Colloquium, Harvard University, 1974* (= *Iranian Studies*, 1974, vol. VII).]

⁴⁴ *Les six voyages . . . en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes, etc.* (Paris, 1917).

⁴⁵ *Ot Kaspiuskogo moria*, pp. 54-55.

^d The population in ca. 1950 was 204,598 (*Farhang*, X, 18); in 1976, it was 671,825 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242: İsfahān is the second largest city of Iran, after Tehran and before Mashhad and Tabriz).

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The city has today a great commercial importance, as well; the main articles of export are opium, tobacco, cotton, and almonds, whereas paper materials, sugar, red copper, and tea are imported.

The road from Işfahān to Ray, that is, to the vicinity of Tehran, has always passed through Kāshān and Qum. It follows fairly level ground except for a short distance south of Kāshān, where it cuts through a mountain chain. Here is the mountain [and village] of Kührūd, whose inhabitants, like those of the neighboring villages, speak a special dialect that has retained many archaic words; the dialects of Kührūd and of several other towns have been subjected to a special linguistic investigation by Zhukovskii.⁴⁶

In the 10th century, Kāshān was a small but rich town. Its foundation was attributed to Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and the town had already at that time a great manufacturing importance, and was especially renowned for its goblets. Even today, copper vessels made in Kāshān are well known. In addition, ceramics made in Kāshān are famous; such Persian words as *kāsh* "glazing"; *kāshī*, "enamel" (hence *kāshīgar*) are derived from the word Kāshān or from the abbreviation *kāsh*. Because of the mountains situated south of the city, summer is extremely hot here; moreover, all travelers, beginning with the tenth-century geographers,⁴⁷ mention the abundance of scorpions in the area. The inhabitants of Kāshān were Shī'is even in the fourteenth century,⁴⁸ although in the surrounding villages Sunnism was still prevalent.⁴⁹

The inhabitants of Qum were Shī'is as early as the tenth century, although the Arab population of the town was larger than the Persian one;⁵⁰ in the fourteenth century, Qum was already one of

⁴⁶ *Materialy*, pt. 1. [Bosworth, *EP*, art. "Kührūd"; O. Watson, "The Masjid-i 'Ali, Quhrūd: an Architectural and Epigraphic Survey," *Iran, JBIPS*, XII (1975), 59-74.]

⁴⁷ Maqdisī, p. 390. There is no mention of Kāshān in Sam'ānī and Yāqūt. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 209.

⁴⁸ And in the thirteenth century, see Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-sudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl (Leiden and London, 1921), p. 394.

⁴⁹ According to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 410, there are in Kāshān over 70,000 inhabitants. Views of Kāshān, *ibid.*, pp. 410, 412. (For the history of the city, see also Huart, *EI*, art. "Kāshān"; 'Abd al-Rahīm Darrābī, *Ta'rikh-i Kāshān*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1335/1946); *Arabshū anonim XI v.*, ed. P.A. Griaznevich, p. 144.) [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 120-26; J. Calmard, *EP*, art. "Kāshān." In 1976, the population of Kashan was 84,545 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

⁵⁰ Iştakhri, p. 201. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 175, for Qum as a purely Muslim city without any remnants of A'ājim: "[Qum] is a new Islamic city, with no trace of non-Arabs."

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the centers of Shī'ī fanaticism.⁵¹ At present, few permanent inhabitants live there (approximately 7,000),⁵² but in terms of religious importance it is the second city of Persia [after Mashhad], and is visited by a great number of pilgrims.⁵³ The tomb of Fātīma, sister of the imām 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, who is buried in Mashhad, is in Qum; the present-day structure over the grave was built in the nineteenth century by Fath 'Alī Shāh. In Qum are buried a number of Persian shāhs, beginning with those of the seventeenth century, as well as many other famous personalities and shaykhs.⁵⁴ The road from Qum to Ray used to lead from the bridge Pul-i Dallāq directly northward to the town of Kināragird; the large lake Hawz-i Sultān Kawīr was formed only in 1883, as a result of the destruction of the dam on the small river Qara-chay.⁵⁵ Curzon was told that the minister Amīn al-Sultān had deliberately demolished the dam in order to ruin the ancient caravan route and direct the caravans along the new road built by himself through the towns of 'Aliābād and Manzariya.⁵⁶ A road is said to have led in the fourteenth century from Sultāniya, when it was the capital of Iran, through Sāwa and Āwa to Qum, and from there to Kāshān and Isfahān.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 191 [ed. Le Strange, p. 67, tr. *idem*, p. 71].

⁵² In Rittikh's opinion, *Otchet o poezdke*, pt. 1, p. 128, there are 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, and according to the inhabitants, twice as many. [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 127-31. The population in ca. 1950 was estimated at 83,235 (*Farhang*, I, 168), in 1976, it was 246,831 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

⁵³ Qum and Shi'ism; the question of Zoroastrianism; Qaryat al-Majūs, according to Iṣṭakhrī, was one day's journey from Qum and two days' journey from Kāshān. The pre-Islamic fortress Dayr Kardashīr between Ray and Qum: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 690; IV, 175, quoting Abū Dulaf.

⁵⁴ Views of Qum in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 414; Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 158. For the history of Qum and its monuments, see also Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Qummī, *Ta'rīkh-i Qumm*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭehrānī (Tehran, 1313/1934); 'Alī Akbar Kāshīf, *Rāhnamā-yi Qum dar āthār-i ta'rīkhī-yi āstāna-yi muqaddasa* (Tehran, 1317/1938). [J. Calmard, *EI²*, art. "Kumm."]

⁵⁵ Rittikh, *Otchet o poezdke*, pt. 1, p. 125, considers the formation of the lake to be the result of a natural spill (caused by an abundance of snow in the mountains) in 1883.

⁵⁶ *Persia*, II, 4.

⁵⁷ Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. 171 fol. 245a [ed. Le Strange, p. 184, tr. *idem*, p. 175].

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